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ABSTRACT

Racist language is more pervasive than sexist language. Not only are there obvious racial slurs, but also most English black and black-oriented words have negative meanings. One study found over 134 synonyms for whiteness, 44 of which were favorable, and only 10 had any semblance of negative connotations. In the same study, 120 synonyms for blackness were found, 60 of which were distinctly unfavorable, and none of them were even mildly positive. Not only does language reflect prejudgments, but it also sustains what it has created. We think in the categories of our language: black is negative, white is positive. The cultural and attitudinal implications of this must be respected and as we become sensitive to them it is important to change our use of language. It is not a universal concept that black is negative and white is positive, as a look at Oriental and black literature demonstrates. Without some balance, students are subjected to a profanation of their self-image which interferes unduly with cognitive development. (TJ)

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TEACHING THEM TO CURSE:

A Study of Certain Types of Inherent Racial Bias in Language Pedagogy and Practices

By

Rosentene B. Purnell

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TEACHING THEM TO CURSE

Observers generally agree that the teaching of language use is one of the most controversial areas in academia today. Concerns range from those of the student's right to his/her own language, to doublespeak, to the imperialistic implications of bidialectalism and bilingualism, to what is basic about basic, and to how much is enough. Another prevailing interest today is that of whether we shape our language or it shapes us. Is generic really a cover label for sexism? Is the negative use of color really a veiled form of racism? Such issues and others indicate the seriousness with which the profession views itself.

No aspect of language use has graver implications for human interaction that that of its inherent racism or sexism. While the issue of sexism in language is currently addressed with much of the urgency it deserves, that of inherent racism in language seems to follow the ebb and flow of the political tides. I suggest that both areas should be a continuing subject for analysis and exploration. This paper will focus on the racism inherent in language acquisition and use, but it has implications for an analysis of the negative use of language in any context.

Language is not separate from the context which shapes it. Anthropological linguists have demonstrated that the general idea one has about what happens in the world outside oneself is not altogether a 'given' by the external events. Rather, up to a certain point, one sees and hears what the grammatical system of one's language has made one sensitive to, has trained one to look for in experience. "This bias," as Clyde Kluckhohn contends in his essay, "The Gift of Tongues," "is the more insidious because everyone is so unconscious of his native language as a system . . . . The language says, as it were, 'notice this,' 'always consider this separate from that,' 'such and such things belong together.' Since people are taught from infancy to respond in these ways, they take discriminations for granted as part of the inescapable stuff of life."[1]

American education, by and large, reflects a certain ethnocentric bias: it is rooted in the dominating Western concept of values, truth, and beauty as perceived within that framework. The perpetuation of this myth of cultural superiority results in a stigmatization and exploitation of those who are different. Language is used by and large as the primary instrument by which cultural barriers

are drawn and continually reinforced. Nowhere is this phenomenon more evident than in the meaning and significance this society attributes to perceived differences in color and race, not even those of sex.

Edward Shils points out that "in itself color is meaningless." Unlike religion or nationality, unlike systems of belief or kinship associations, color does not in itself suggest any pattern of meaning; it has no moral significance. Yet meaning is attributed to it and this meaning has grave implications for almost every human interaction. Some of these manifest themselves in cultural derogation, individual affront, political suppression, military repression, and in every conceivable form of coercion and dehumanization of the out-groups.[2]

Attitudes about racial/color prejudgements are reflected in the language; and the language itself reflects what it has helped to create and sustain, what Francois Raveau has called "semantic treason, the analysis of which acquires a liberating effect."[3] Such a liberating effect comes from the full awareness of the extent to which language controls what one sees, hears, and thinks, and the forthright, deliberate effort to eradicate both the negative underpinnings and their manifestations in all forms.

That language and cultural behavior are inseparable can be seen from even a cursory survey of the development and spread of the English language, especially from the point when it became relatively stabilized and gained a measure of prestige as a vehicle for the expression of serious thought during the Renaissance and thereafter. It is hardly an accident that this was also the age of the great expansion of the English empire. And many writers of the period perceived the New World as a vast, rich field for the plantation of the English language as well as of England's political interests. Samuel Daniels, for example, in "Musophilus" (1599), speaks of "venting the treasures of our tongue, to what strange shores/this gaine of best glorie shall be sent/T' inrich unknowing Nations with our stores."[4]

Further references to the dual interests of language dissemination and land conquest occur in continental writers of the age. Antonio de Nebrija's introduction to the first grammar of any modern European tongue Gramatica (1492)[5], speaks of language as a partner of empire. And Peter Martyr in a letter to Pope Leo X speaks of "large landes and many regions which shall hereafter receave our nations tongues, and manners, and shall hereafter embrase owre relygion."[6] Certainly with the implantation of empires went the implantation of language, values, and attitudes.

Later, Shakespeare also alluded to this aspect of linguistic colonialism in his The Tempest. He, however, seems to give us a broader perspective on the effects of such dubious methods of language implantation for both the oppressor and the oppressed and to suggest certain implications that might prove instructive.

Involving principally Prospero, the self-appointed master of this mysterious island, his daughter, the worldly innocent Miranda, the spirit-like Ariel, and Caliban--perhaps shown as a projection of his "master's" fantasies--half-human, half beast native and erstwhile owner of an otherwise uninhabited island, Shakespeare presents a dramatic situation that sheds light on the colonialist ventures of the age.

The "enlightened" Prospero and his daughter had learned to survive on the island mainly through the tutelage of Caliban. With an independence and integrity of his own, Caliban joyfully showed them all the "qualities of the isle," freely shared his knowledge with them and with other guests:

> He knows where crabs grow
> . . . how to dig pig nuts
> He can show /them/ a jay's nest
> . . . and how "to get young scamels
> from the rock." (The Tempest, II, ii, 171-177)[7]

In return for Caliban's favors, these early visitors "gave him the gift of their language, and, in due course, took over the island, made him their slave, as Miranda calls him in a peculiar /for her/ bit of self-deluding redundancy, "Abhorred slave."

Caliban, of course, has a different view of himself and a quite different view of their gift:

> You taught me your language; and my profit on't
> Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
> For learning me your language! (I, ii, 364-366)

There is wide disagreement as to precisely what Caliban's words mean. Stephen Greenblatt has rejected the interpretation that these lines are a "self-indictment" from which one might infer that even with the gift of language, "/Caliban's/ nature is so debased that he can only learn to curse."[8] Hardly. The claim that the extent of Caliban's language competency is that of

cursing is surely untenable. Some of the most beautiful passages in the play are given to him (III, ii, 149-152); for example:

Be not afraid; this isle is full of noises,

Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not . . .

Caliban's retort refuses to mean that. Greenblatt contends, "Anyone can read instead a "devastating justness" in them. There is something <u>right</u> about Caliban's insistence upon a point of view lost to his "masters." His words sound a poignant note of "inconsolable human pain and bitterness."[9] The issue is not resolved to our satisfaction by Prospero's response, which is only a threat to torture Caliban with "old cramps and fill /his/ bones with aches, make /him/ roar that beasts shall tremble at /his/ din." (I, ii, 369-371).

Caliban's words, I suggest, indicate a deeper meaning, one about the relationship and level of community and, hence, communication between the oppressed and the oppressors. Coming as it does, in response to the flagrant abuse heaped upon him by Prospero and Miranda, Caliban's retort in no way implies or states that all he can do is curse. He says the "profit" of Miranda's and Prospero's instruction of him was that he now knows "how to curse." One would conclude then that since such language usually characterized their close encounters, what Caliban is urging is that his situation, posed by the relationship between him as slave and them as masters, is such that he can only give and receive curses. The unsentimental bond of master and slave, then, posed such grave implications for communication that exchanges other than curses, loud and shallow, silent and deep, inner- and outer-directed would seem irrelevant--incompatible with the reality of the situation. Caliban is right in his assessment of the relationship and of the role of language in this destructive relationship. The bond of language to be effective depends to a large extent upon the bond existing between the users, their commonness or community, for its integrity.

Each language reflects and substantiates the specific characters and the cultural orientation out of which it grows. The relationship and the language by which the relationship was defined had been given Caliban by Prospero and Miranda. It was all to <u>their</u> advantage, but small profit to him, to take his island and make him their slave.

Language has the power to create, to reinforce and to transcend human barriers. An analysis of the dominant patterns in linguistic pedagogy and practices

today reveals many of the same basic assumptions about power and language, characterized by the singular perspective of those who control the language and the culture. An end result of such assumptions is to deny the value of what is different and extol that which is prized by the majority culture, and these notions are perpetrated in all areas of academia and, concomitantly, in the larger society. This ethnocentrism becomes institutionalized at every level of human interaction with sublime insensitivity to the implications it might have for the well being of those who are in any way different. Questions about the merits of bidialecticalism and, to a lesser extent, bilingualism tend to reflect many of these prevalent, though often unintentional, atrocities. Of what profit is this to the millions who bear the burdens of both the language and its inherent abuse? Small wonder many come to hate both the language and its purveyors. Many of these become the drop-outs who enter the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty and its attendant effects.

Norman Cousins, in "The Environment of Language," points out how many of the underlying negative assumptions, as they relate specifically to race, are perpetrated through everyday language use. "Man would argue," he says, "that definitions of color and the connotations that go with them are independent of sociological implications. There is no getting around the fact, it will be said, that whiteness means cleanliness and blackness means dirtiness. Are we to doctor the dictionary in order to achieve a social good? What the line of argument misses," Cousins goes on to say, "is that people in Western cultures do not realize the extent to which their racial attitudes have been conditioned since early childhood by the power of words to ennoble or condemn, augment or detract, glorify or demean. Negative language infects the subconscious of most Western people from the time they first learn to speak. Prejudice is not merely imparted or superimposed. It is metabolized in the bloodstream of society. What is needed," Cousins maintains, "is not so much a change in language as an awareness of the power of words to condition attitudes. If we can at least recognize the underpinnings of prejudice, we may be in a position to deal with its effects."[10]

Cousins, I believe, is right in his perception of the relationships between language use and the ingrained attitudes about race and color. But, typically, he does not go far enough in his analysis of the interdependent

nature of that relationship. Surely Cousins must know that simple awareness is not enough; there must of necessity be some deliberate changes made in how people use language, how they perceive reality as opposed to how they accept the received attitudes inherent in the language they choose to use. It is not a matter of "doctoring" the dictionaries. It is a matter of the lexicographers, who see their role as being recorders of the current usage, being made to respond more sensitively to the diversities of meanings attributed to the objective realities--rather than reflecting their own bias in the selective process. It is a matter of requiring a higher level of responsibility on the part of those who produce the tools of our trade: textbooks, tests, teacher-made and standardized, to perceive and reflect with balance and objectivity the cultural diversity among us. To the extent that those given the responsibility for developing verbal behavior neglect these important areas of linguistic sensitivity, they teach students to misappropriate language, to demean, to detract, to condemn, in short, to curse.

The society in which we live and teach forces us to confront this issue time and time again. The Kerner Commission, at a cost of several thousands of dollars, has told us what we already knew: that "racism is as American as apple pie." Add to that amount the countless dollars spent on studies to show why Johnny and Judy can't do this or that, or why the many Johnnies and Judys manifest other types of aversive behavior in the classroom in terms of hostility, cop-outs and turn-offs--and one cannot estimate the cost in human suffering, nor the incalculable waste of human potential, talents and skills. Then as teachers, it would seem that racial bias as reflected in language must be a part of our present and future agenda for change. To free ourselves from these traps of language entanglements I suggest we must pursue a deliberate sensitization program and a forceful implementation of it at all levels where verbal acquisition takes place. Especially must our schools purge themselves of negative language use. Too many students are forced to endure classrooms designed to insult and demean them, rather than to instruct them. While much of it is subtle, some is quite blatant. Of what profit is this?

Ossie Davis, in 1967, in his essay, "The English Language is My Enemy," pointed out how a seldom questioned authority in English semantics, the Roget's Thesaurus of the English Language is, nevertheless, quite biased in

certain of its entries. It is a book used by millions of students, educators, and others. It is probably the principal repository from which most of them draw both their words and their attitudes. Davis noted that this book lists "over 134 synonyms for whiteness, 44 of which are favorable . . . ." Only 10 synonyms for whiteness appear to have any semblance of negative connotations. While, on the other hand, it lists "120 synonyms for blackness, 60 of which are distinctly unfavorable, and none of them even mildly positive." Twenty of these were "directly related to race, including such unfavorable words as negress, darky, and blackamoor," (words whose currency must certainly be quite limited if not absolutely obsolete.)

Davis further observes, "When you consider the fact that thinking is sub-vocal speech--in other words, one must use words in order to think at all--you must appreciate the enormous heritage of racial prejudgment that lies in wait for any child born into the English language. Any teacher, good or bad, who uses the English language as a medium of communication, is forced willy-nilly to teach the Negro child (at least) 60 ways to despise himself and the white child 60 ways to aid and abet him in the crime."

Davis declares, "Who speaks my mother tongue demeans me indeed! . . . The English language in which I cannot conceive my self as a black man without at the same time debasing myself. . . is my enemy, with which to survive at all, I must continually be at war."[11]

Although Davis perhaps overstates his case, he is neither the first nor the last to point out the implications of negative language patterns ingrained in the tools of our trade as well as in our educational practices, all of which affect the linguistic and overall knowledge acquistion for many blacks and, similarly, for other racial and ethnic groups. In my recent examination of bias in later editions of our leading dictionaries, I discovered that the situation has changed little or none. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language unabridged (1969), for example, lists all of the common and uncommon negative associations with the term black, but it still does not list certain commonly used positive ones, --e.g., black robes worn by judges and academicians to indicate dignity and respect, or refer to such precious stones as black opal and black pearl. It does list certain esoteric information such as black hand, a society organized for terror and black mail in early 20th Century. But it does not list black beauty, a more current and more positive concept.

W. W. Duncan in his article, "How White is your Dictionary?" while commenting on the differences in the way dictionaries treat the terms black and white makes the following recommendation: While the dictionary cannot be expected to explain why a black lie is more repugnant than a white lie, an excusable one, it can ask the reader to compare one phrase to the other. This might lead many people to recognize the logical inconsistency inherent in the two phrases and it might also sensitize the users of these terms to the evil one perpetuates when one use them.[12]

Dictionaries can also point out that racial designations of black, white, and other colors used to designate the many shades of colors that make up humanity are merely that, designations, i.e., no one is really black, white, red or yellow. Certainly the associations which society attributes to these colors are not inherent in either the colors or races themselves or groups, but in the minds of the ones who choose to make or accept them. Teachers surely can do this, by precept and by example. Such recommendations might seem trivial until one sees the effects of this "semantic treason" on human attitudes and interactions. Millions of dollars have been spent and an inestimable amount of time and spirit dissipated--human blood has been shed--in pursuit of a true marriage between a self-perception and reality.

It was not long ago that a furor raged over whether the actress playing the part of Eve ought to be a blond or dark-haired, Anglo-Saxon type. It is a short step from these linguistic preferences to the underlying assumptions they reflect about the relative value of each of the groups so designated by their approximate color codes. A more appropriate question might have been not whether the original was either, but whether she was neither. Reliable historical accounts tend to place her in a different racial stock altogether.

The same basic issue was raised recently in the State of California. The San Francisco Chronicle reported that recently a coalition of consumer and women's organizations demanded the cancellation of the remainder of a 115 million dollar advertising campaign promoting milk on the grounds it was both racist and sexist.

The theme of this campaign financed by the State Milk Advisory Board is "the clean new look is milk white." The attorney Luana Martilla contends that "the message conveyed by this campaign is that beauty, vitality and desirability belong exclusively to white women."[13]

The public relations firm that concocted the campaign was simply astounded. The advertising campaign doubtless will run its course. Money does talk. Still this situation highlights the insensitivity of many who control our media and our pursestrings. Such issues do affect how people relate to each other, how one perceives oneself and others.

The media surely are image makers. Daily we are subjected to a deluge of nagative language. Terms such as blacklist, blackmail, black sheep, Black Monday--all unpleasant in their connotations, yet ensconced in the titles of continuing programs and in daily news reports. Not unrelated, then is the grave concern about the multitudinous negative images of Blacks being portrayed in the current so-called "Black Shows" on television.

Sometimes crass jokes allude directly to color bias. Just recently on Hollywood Squares Peter Marshall was heard to ask Leslie Uggams, dressed as Snow White for this special show: "Snow, why do they call you Snow White?" To which Leslie quipped: "Because you never see black snow!" Peter returned: "Yes you do, sometimes on New York streets"--alluding to the dirtiness of the snow. The message is Black=dirtiness--white=cleanliness, to say nothing of the other assocations such a character as Snow White evokes.

Respectable studies have already pointed up the significance of the effect of media on self-esteem and cognitive development. Studies on the impact of Sesame Street on young minority children show that the positive image portrayals in this program had definite, positive effects on these children, especially as to how they see themselves and their capabilities.[14]

Negative language use also characterizes the commentary in many textbooks. Let me cite just one. In the introduction to the chapter on "The Sixteenth Century" in Norton's Anthology of English Literature, Vol. 1, p. 477, discussing the Tudor myth, the commentator states: "In it /More's history of Richard III/, More justified the Tudor dynasty by blackening its predecessor." (Italics mine.) The message that comes through is that to "blacken" Richard III's character in this context is to make him more despicable.[15]

If one turns to the literature of the Renaissance (and before or after) it is immediately evident that it was an age when "Black was not counted fair, or if it were, it did not bear Beauty's stamp," to borrow a line from one of the sonnets of "the Bard of Avon."[16] Sidney refers to painting the "blackest

face of woe" ("Sonnet 1," Astrophel and Stella);[17] and numerous other examples could be cited from Spenser, Milton, and others of that age and clime. In the literature of the age countless references are made to black magic, the evil, destructive use of magic as opposed to white magic, the constructive use of the occult. Fine fare for the ordinary student, if one emphasizes the vehicle rather than the message of these works. Such works must be placed in perspective and not taken merely at face value. Yet, to an extent, the medium remains the message.

Just recently I was asked to review items for a leading testing agency. I objected to the negative language used as exemplified in terms such as black humor and kinky (as opposed to straight) sex. My colleagues had noted no problem in the use of these combinations. Who knows to what extent such negative language affects the student's ability to negotiate the test items, whose results might be used to affect the student the rest of his/her life.

Current studies point out how the ethnocentric attitudes of teachers affect their responses to students' use of language in their work and the effect this use has on how teachers rate their work: value judgments based on the teachers' own linguistic orientations are reflected in teachers' judgments of the writers and their writing. Papers with sound ideas and organizations, for example, are graded down if written in a less prestigious dialect, while those with no redeeming virtues also written in the same dialects tended to be graded higher than these same essays were graded when rewritten in standard English. This phenomenon is a subtle extension of the ethnocentrism reflected in linguistic bias of all types. It represents one of the ways by which the flow of the culturally different is controlled.

Perhaps this is what playwright Charles Gordonne meant when he said: "I found out early that the English language was designed to defeat people like me. So I tried to abort it."[18] Charles Gordonne, famous, successful playwright, was able to surmount these linguistic hurdles and the implications these had for his self-realization. Few of our students will have either that skill or the opportunity.

I suggest that the same ethnocentricity that underlies the assumptions about color reflected in our language also underlie the exploitation shows viewed in the media and that on all other levels in our national life. It is a short step

step from the use of negative language to the practice of negative behavior: preferential treatment of the semantically favored and derogation of the different.

Haig A. Bosmajian, in his study of "The Language of White Racism" showed the connection between negative language use and the underlying behavioral patterns of racism. He suggests that whites hang on to the language of racism because it gives them a kind of linguistic power over the victimized black American, a power most whites are unwilling or afraid to give up. A person's language is an extension of himself and to attack his use of language is to attack him."[19] I suggest that such claims to power are no longer (if they ever were) either defensible or fashionable. It would appear that a liberating analysis of one's linguistic choices is in order.

Language teaching, consciously or unconsciously, by precept and example, is still being used to force or perpetuate certain political underpinnings and to demean and victimize those perceived as different. If we as teachers wish to make real our claims of being humanists engaged in the teaching of a humane art, we cannot lose sight of that humanistic goal. We must exorcise these negative cliches, words, and phrases, as well as the assumptions that underlie them from all levels of intercourse in our society. The English language is rich enough to express any idea needed or desired without the use of negative language. The concept of negative <u>blackness</u> is not universal, as some would hold; nor is that of positive <u>whiteness</u>. Explore certain African and Oriental literature and folklore. Look at the literature of many Black writers who make a conscious attempt to reverse the traditional associations with color. Anthropologists, too, reveal a diversity in the ways writers and others respond to color, and in the associations they make between the variety of color tones among races and their value.[20] Finally, Black is not negative to many people who sit in our classrooms. A study by Professor Louie Crew reveals that when he asked his students to try to say "white is ugly" and "black is beautiful" in as many ways as possible without using the terms "ugly" and "beautiful," the following list emerged (only a few examples are mentioned here):[21]

Blackness		Whiteness	
Soul Brothers	Natural	Puke-Faced	Ghost
Africans	Bad	Bold-Faced	Snowman
Brother/Sister	Tanned	Frosted Faced	Rice Patties
Dude	Radiant	Colorless	
Night	Chocolate	Raw	
Cat	Smooth	Dead	
Eagle		Transparent	
Brown Sugar		Flour-Faced	
Mystery		Crackers	

Such a list (though many terms are not directly about the colors white and black, but their connotations) is eye-opening to many teachers and students. It suggests clearly that we must wage a campaign, individually and as professional groups, against the negative use of language in textbooks, in tests, in the many forms of media, and certainly in our dictionaries and thesauruses which purport to reflect usage current at the time of the editing.

Should our students be subjected to the profanation of their self-image and to the undue interference with their cognitive development, however veiled, systemic, or unintentional? Surely teachers can exert their influence towards the eradication of racist language and racist behavior. Instead of teaching students to curse, we can help them learn to appreciate the flexibility in language and, more important, the diversity of our cultural heritage.

In teaching, we can point out the positive alternatives to a piece of work, other wise valuable, which reflects negatively on a color or sex or group. Or we might note such bias, but should never accept it as a "given." There should be balance in the works studied: a Moby Dick for every "Domination of Black;" for every Edgar Allan Poe, a Leroi Jones or others; an "Evil is No Black Thing" by Sarah Webster Fabio for the many poets in English and American literature.

To do less is to help prolong the nightmare of man's inhumanity to man, the agony of millions who, as Aimé Cesaire says, "have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, and abasement."[22] Language should serve as a bond among humanity, not a creator or reinforcer of barriers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Speaking of Words, eds. James MacKillop and Donna W, Cross (New York; Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978), pp. 39, 41.

[2]"Color, the Universal Intellectual, and The Afro-Asian Intellectual," Color and Race, ed. John Hope Franklin (Boston: Beacon, 1968), pp. 1-2.

[3]"The Role of Color in Adaptation Phenomena," Color and Race, p. 105.

[4]Samuel Daniel, Poems and a Defence of Ryme, ed. Arthur Colby Sprague (Cambridge, 1930), II, pp. 957-962

[5]Gramatica de la lengua castellana, ed. 1g. Gonzalez-Llubera (Oxford, 1926), p. 3.

[6]Peter Martyr, The Decades of the Newe Worlde (De orbe novo), trans. Richard Eden, Decade 3, Book 9 in The First Three English Books on America, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885), p. 177

[7]Hardin Craig and David Bevington, eds., The Complete Works of Shakespeare (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1973), p. 1259. All other references to Shakespeare are taken from this edition; 1260; 1254; 1263. Hereafter cited as Works.

[8]Stephen Greenblatt, Learning to Curse: "Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," First Images of American, ed. Fred Chiappell, et al, (Berkeley: University of California, 1976.), p. 570.

[9]Ibid., p. 570

[10]Quoted in Speaking of Words, p. 121.

[11]Negro History Bulletin, 30 (1967), p. 18

[12]Plain English Rhetoric and Reader, eds. Gregory Cowan and Elisabeth McPherson (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 86

[13]February 25, 1978. (See also the Modesto Bee, February 25, 1978, pp. 1-2.)

[14]Jim Haskins and Hugh F. Butts, The Psychology of Black Language, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), p. 10. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p.

[15]Third edition, eds. M. H. Abrams, et al. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co.), 1974

[16]"Sonnet CXXVII," Works, p. 492

[17]Norton's Anthology, I, p. 518.

[18]Quoted in Newsweek, May 25, 1970, p. 95

[19]College English, 31 (December, 1969), p. 272.

[20]See Color and Race.

[21]"A Black Addendum to Roget," quoted in Speaking of Words: A Language Reader, p. 122.

[22]Quoted by Frantz Fanon, in David Caute, Frantz Fanon (New York: Viking, 1970.), p. 1.